DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 263 232 UD 024 477

AUTHOR Amir, Yehuda; Ben-Ari, Rachel
TITLE Approaches to Conflict Resolution between Ethnic and National Groups in Israel: Arab/Jewish and Western/Middle-Eastern Jewish Youth.
PUB DATE 85
NOTE 14p.; Paper presented at the Circum-Mediterranean Regional IACCP Conference (1st, Malmo, Sweden, 1985).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Arabs; *Cross Cultural Training; Cultural Background; Educational Background; Educational Opportunities; Elementary Secondary Education; *Equal Education; *Ethnic Groups; Ethnic Stereotypes; Foreign Countries; *Intercultural Communication; Jews
IDENTIFIERS *Israel

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the means by which youth of conflicting nationalities may be taught to live together in Israel with mutual understanding and respect. The first part of the paper focuses on relations between Jewish and Arab youth, and suggests guidelines for designing a cross-cultural learning project to improve the relations between these groups. It is suggested that an intellectual approach (i.e., learning about the other group and its culture) is the optimal model for educational programs aiming to promote better Arab-Jewish understanding. The second part of the paper addresses cultural and social differences between Western and Middle Eastern Jews. Classroom techniques are called for that will facilitate social desegregation by reducing the substantial academic competition and status differences currently prevalent in Israeli schools. (GC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

ED263232

APPROACHES TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION BETWEEN ETHNIC AND NATIONAL GROUPS IN ISRAEL: ARAB/JEWISH AND WESTERN/MIDDLE-EASTERN JEWISH YOUTH

by

Yehuda Amir

Rachel Ben-Ari

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Yehuda Amir
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

UD024477

Presented at the First Circum-Mediterranean Regional IACCP Conference, Malmo, Sweden, 1985.

APPROACHES TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION BETWEEN ETHNIC AND NATIONAL GROUPS IN ISRAEL: ARAB/JEWISH AND WESTERN/MIDDLE-EASTERN JEWISH YOUTH

Yehuda Amir, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology
Rachel Ben-Ari, Ph.D., Assistant Professor
Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the means by which youth of different and conflicting nationalities may be taught to live together and to adjust to each other in a particular country in mutual understanding and respect. The focus is on Jewish youth from Western and Middle-Eastern origin, and the relations between Arab and Jewish youth in Israel, taking into account the unique characteristics of the intergroup situation prevailing in this country. While the evaluation presented here concerns educational programs which should be constructed if ethnic stress and conflicts are to be resolved or at least reduced among youth in Israel, the issues addressed are universal.

A major consideration in constructing ways and techniques for conflict resolution and for changing ethnic relations is what to change and, subsequently, how to change it. The question of "what" relates to the specific goals of the cross-cultural training process, i.e., what it intends to achieve. The answer to this question is a prerequisite for addressing the question of "how" which refers to the techniques and means for achieving these goals. Though in many cross-cultural training programs the goals are not clearly specified, it goes without saying that a clear formulation of the goals is very important for the success of any training program. Thus, one should specify whether these goals include different aspects such as learning about the other culture, changing the readiness to accept the others socially, developing a more positive emotional orientation, changing attitudes or maybe perceptions, etc. The delineation of the goals is crucial because different goals require the use of different methods for their attainment. Moreover, the relevance of certain goals and the probability of their attainment may not be the same for the different cultural and ethnic groups involved in the learning situation.

ARAB-JEWISH RELATIONS

Historical Background

The intergroup situation of the Jewish majority and the Arab minority in Israel can be typified as two groups living side by side as two distinct entities. Their relations are characterized by an almost total separation in most areas of life and by some negative feelings and attitudes held by each group towards the other. These conditions of separatism among adults are accentuated among youth. While the adult Jews and Arabs enjoy some contact, such as in various work settings, no such opportunity for contact exists among youth who reside in different localities and attend separate educational institutions.

Research findings indicate that the Jews are generally oblivious to the realities of the Arab sector and do not exhibit much interest in Arabs and

ED 024477

their culture. Similarly, in the Jewish educational system there is a conspicuous neglect of the Arab issue. Among the Israeli Arabs, there is a strong feeling of minority discrimination and a heightened sensitivity to their being ignored by the Jewish majority group. This state of affairs has remained unchanged since the establishment of the State of Israel, sustained and intensified by the continuous conflict and tension between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Acceptance of the situation of Arab-Jewish separation has been fostered, in part, by the shared view of this intergroup situation as temporary. The Arabs have believed that sooner or later the Jewish State would cease to exist, relieving them of a minority status; the Jews have believed that the problem of Arab presence in Israel would be solved either by Arab emigration from Israel or by Jewish immigration that would reduce the Arabs to an insignificant minority. Thus, neither side attempted to change the existing status quo.

Lately, after more than 30 years of Israel's independence and probably as a consequence of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, some change in the attitudes of both sides appears to have taken place. Since neither Jewish nor Arab expectations were fulfilled, both have gradually come to realize that they will have to continue to live together in one country. Consequently, some readiness has developed to act towards changing the existing status quo in intergroup relations.

Goals and Techniques of Change

It is our contention that the Israeli situation involves a number of unique characteristics that must be taken into consideration when designing a cross-cultural training program for Arab and Jewish youth and children.

1. Most cross-cultural programs have been directed at the micro-level, i.e., concentrated on modifying individuals who move from one society to another, without necessarily taking into consideration the situation at the macro-level, namely, the relationship between the two societies. In many cases, this approach is adequate. The situation considered here is different, since the two societies under consideration are involved in a major political and cultural conflict. In such a situation goals that can be achieved at the micro-level may be quite restricted, sometimes even impossible to achieve without some prior solution at the macro-level.

2. In contrast to other cross-cultural programs which focus on training representatives from one group in order to enable their functioning in another society, the Israeli project must address itself to both groups. Moreover, the goals of the cross-cultural training and, consequently, the methods chosen to implement these goals may not be the same for both groups.

3. In the Jewish-Arab intergroup situation each side carries a load of negative feelings against the other. Consequently, any project that aims to change the existing state between the two groups must consider the fact that its recipients are not "naive" emotionally. In such a case, it may be advisable that the planned cross-cultural

training start with a process of cross-cultural unlearning that will prepare the grounds for the successful implementation of the program.

4. Finally, let us consider the issue of motivation. Underlying any project aimed at fostering learning is an assumption of a positive motivation on the part of the learner. Individuals participating in cross-cultural training programs are usually interested in its success because of some instrumental reasons. In our case, it may be assumed that the emotional barriers and prejudice of the two groups greatly reduce their motivation to take part in a cross-cultural learning process. Under such conditions the design of a training project must search for ways to cope with this problem.

In summary, it is clear that the design of a cross-cultural learning project regarding Arab and Jewish youth in Israel is quite complex and may be more difficult to conceive than comparable projects reported in the literature.

Let us now return to the definition of the goals. As noted earlier, some of the goals may be identical for both groups, while others may be unique for each of the groups. Among the common goals in Israel there is at present some mutual readiness to get to know the other group, to accept its existence and to increase tolerance towards it. As for specific goals, it may be worthwhile for Arabs to learn to function more effectively in the Jewish society. The Israeli Arab lives in a country with a Jewish orientation and he constantly interacts with Jewish institutions and authorities. In order to function effectively, he must get acquainted with the Israeli Jewish society, its orientations, customs, and needs.

When designing a cross-cultural training program, it is important to recognize possible undesirable effects that may, even unintentionally, be produced. Thus, in the Israeli case, neither side is interested in attaining social and cultural integration or in promoting interpersonal relations of an intimate nature. On the contrary, both sides favor strict cultural pluralism and each group prefers to retain its cultural, social, and national uniqueness, as well as a distinct group identity.

How can such goals be attained? A survey of the pertinent literature points out a wide variety of approaches and methods for cross-cultural learning (Gudykunst, Hammer, & Wiseman, 1977). Yet the implementation of these approaches among youth has typically focused on fostering understanding and openness between students from different cultural groups attending the same school. The contextual characteristics of the Israeli situation require the assessment of the immediate relevance of these approaches to the case at hand. Consequently, an optimal approach could emerge as the most suitable for our purposes.

In dealing with Arab and Jewish youth in Israel, we have to consider their two separate educational systems that are usually also geographically apart. In this context, it appears worthwhile to consider what the above-mentioned authors labeled as the intellectual approach. This approach focuses on providing information and is therefore directly applicable to the general orientation of a school setting.

In addition to its structural appropriateness, the intellectual approach is pertinent to the goals of fostering positive intergroup relations, mutual understanding and attitude change. There is a general consensus among researchers that the attainment of these goals is markedly facilitated by relating first to the cognitive aspects of the problem, i.e., to supplying relevant and accurate information on the issue at hand. According to theory, the factual content regarding the other culture is critical for modifying perceptions which have been based on the absence of correct information or on misinformation. Learning theories maintain that stereotypes stem from negative associations formed about the other group and any positive associative content would be expected to promote the establishment of more positive attitudes and perceptions. The choice of the specific learning material should be accommodated to the needs and the level of maturation of the child. While at the younger age there is a major importance to how the material is presented, in older age groups the question of what, i.e., the content itself, should be emphasized.

The success of the intellectual approach may be increased by supplementing it with the interactional approach. The latter is based upon intergroup contact which will, among other things, expose the individual to "life" information about the other group. Such information is more difficult to deny, repress or disregard than abstract information. Indeed, there exists a large body of empirical evidence testifying to the effectiveness of intergroup contact under certain conditions in overcoming prejudice and tension among groups.

One major difficulty hinders the implementation of the interactional approach. As was mentioned earlier, the Arab and Jewish populations in Israel live in geographically separated communities, creating an objective barrier in establishing contact between them. Thus, although the direct contact may be potentially powerful as a vehicle for promoting better intergroup perceptions, attitudes and relations, its applicability to our case is limited and can only be recommended as supplementing the probably less effective intellectual approach.

The remaining approaches specified by Gudykunst et al. (1977) do not seem relevant to the present case. The self-awareness approach, which is based on developing self-insight and sharing of feelings, is difficult to implement on large populations, since it is basically an individualistic approach and is carried out in small groups. Since our aim is to work with large student populations, this approach is not promising. Moreover, it is questionable whether this approach is at all applicable to young people who may not be mature enough to profit from interactions involving self-evaluation and sharing of feelings.

In spite of these drawbacks, it may be worthwhile to test the effectiveness of this approach when combined with that of "cultural awareness," particularly when working with more mature youth. This combination, sometimes labeled "cultural self-awareness," is based on the assumption that prior to reaching the capability to change one's perceptions and attitudes towards others, the individual must recognize himself as a "cultural being."

The two final approaches--behavioral and area simulation--may prove useful when one group is totally unfamiliar with the behavior and the geographical surroundings of the other group. These approaches seem irrelevant to the case of Israeli Jewish and Arab youth, since these two groups live in similar physical conditions and do not markedly differ in their outward appearance and day-to-day behavior.

On the basis of the above considerations, it seems that the optimal orientation for the development of educational programs aiming to promote intergroup understanding and relations between the Arab and Jewish youth should be based upon the intellectual approach, i.e., learning about the other group and its culture, possibly combined with a minimal number of intergroup meetings. Thus, the thrust of future efforts should be focused on developing of contents and techniques suitable for the implementation of such programs among the different target populations.

RELATIONS BETWEEN WESTERN AND MIDDLE-EASTERN JEWS

Historical Background

The intergroup situation between Jews from Western and Middle-Eastern origin is quite different from that described in regard to Arabs and Jews. When the State of Israel was founded, Israel's society comprised about 600,00 people, 77% of them from Western origin. In its first decade, this society absorbed approximately 480,000 Middle-Eastern and 320,000 Western immigrants. The basically modern Western cultural patterns of the absorbing society were familiar to the Western immigrants, making their adjustment in the new country easier. In contrast, the adjustment of Middle-Easterners was difficult. They had been educated according to a conservative tradition, and Western cultural patterns were strange and even at times objectionable to them (Eisenstadt, 1973).

Differences in cultural background and considerable differences in educational and occupational level resulted in a high correspondence between ethnic background and social class. Westerners acquired solid social positions, while most Middle-Easterners populated the bottom of the social ladder (Smooha & Peres, 1974). In addition, the encounter was accompanied by social tension. Alienation, prejudice, and social distance characterized the relations which developed between Middle-Easterners and Westerners.

In spite of this social-cultural cleavage, members of both groups identify themselves as members of the Jewish people and show a basic sense of identification with the land and people of Israel. This fundamental historical, national and religious identification with a common past is one of the bedrocks of the State of Israel. Ethnic interaction and integration constitute a national extension of the desire of all Jewish subgroups for reconstituting the social and political unity of the Jewish people, and thereby express a positive social striving which is generally accepted as a national norm in Israel. As such, there is broad acceptance of the goal of ethnic mixing at least on the level of public proclamations, and no institution or group opposes this policy in principle.

The national consensus for heightened intergroup understanding and interaction and reduced tension between Western and Middle-Eastern Jews can be exemplified by the following studies: Peres (1976) found that most Jewish high school students (75% of the Middle-Easterners and 64% of the Westerners) supported the blurring of ethnic differences. Along with this aspiration, both Western and Middle-Eastern students wished to base the model of integration on a modern way of life that actually favored Western culture. A study by Chen, Lewy, and Adler (1978) indicated a different expression for the same wish, showing that most of the parents whose children were enrolled in integrated junior high schools favored integration, and only a minority (15%) opposed it. The position of ethnic acceptance implied by the findings of studies recently carried out in integrated Jewish schools is that interpersonal acceptance is predominantly determined by scholastic standing, while ethnic background is of secondary importance (Amir, Sharan, Bizman, Ribner, & Ben-Ari, 1978; Hadad & Shapira, 1977; Schwarzwald & Cohen, 1982). Another down-to-earth expression of the wish for interethnic mingling is the percentage of "mixed" marriages, which rose from 9% in 1952 to 21% in 1984.

It is important to note that the percentage of Middle-Easterners belonging to and regarding themselves as part of Israel's middle-class society increases from year to year. This trend contributes strongly to a de-emphasis of ethnic origin, especially among children and youth. The latter represent native Israelis, two or three generations distanced from the ethnic origin.

Goals and Techniques of Change

One may ask, why choose youth and the school for achieving ethnic integration of the society? What is unique about that age or the institution that it should be selected to bear the brunt of this difficult task when the goals are on a national scale? Other major social settings in the economic and public sectors, such as the community, the army or at work, may be equally equipped to carry out such policies.

Undoubtedly, social integration on a national level could be promoted more effectively if institutions other than the school would also carry out a policy of integration. However, schools are one of the very few public institutions which encompass a cross-section of the entire population at a certain age level, and where the law empowers the government to dictate matters of policy. Moreover, ethnic integration in schools promises to have a more long-term effect than in other social institutions since schools influence the youngest, most attainable members of society.

The relevance of the school as the preferred setting for desegregation is evident from a generational perspective. Israeli-born children of parents from different countries and cultures are more similar and socially closer to their peers of other ethnic subgroups than are their respective parents (Peres, 1976). The partial closing of the cultural gap between the Israeli-born generation of the different ethnic subgroups is a facilitating factor which schools can build upon in planning programs for promoting social integration.

The literature suggests that experiencing cross-ethnic relations, particularly in early childhood and in the schools, may be a critical element in children's social development preparing them to live in a multiethnic society and to maintain social attitudes and behavior relatively free of prejudice toward members of other subgroups (Crain & Mahard, 1978; Inbar & Adler, 1977). There are data showing that under suitable conditions, early exposure to members of other groups reduces the likelihood that children will grow up with negative attitudes toward these groups (St. John, 1975).

The importance of intergroup contact during school years becomes particularly important in light of Israel's security needs. Can we expect youth to integrate easily with peers from other ethnic groups at age 18 when they enter the army, if they have never mixed with each other before? There is at least the hope that a common school experience, assuming that it is carried out under the proper conditions, can serve to enhance the possibility of improving social solidarity as the children move into adult life.

The view developed here attributes a dual role to ethnic interaction in Israel's schools. The social-integrative dimension is concerned with increasing the cohesiveness of Israel's multiethnic Jewish population. There is also a preventive dimension to integration directed at precluding frustration and a sense of deprivation among members of the lower status groups, which may stem from their feeling of being denied equal access to public resources. These feelings can lead to the eruption of social discord and unrest. Both factors are crucial considerations in shaping the policy of ethnic integration in Israeli society at large, as well as in the schools.

In light of this background, the question arises as to the most effective approach for reducing tension and promoting understanding and acceptance between Jewish youth from different ethnic origins. Clearly, the optimal solution in the case of Jewish and Arab groups--learning about the other group--does not seem to address the main difficulties of the Jewish groups, as the perceived differences between these latter groups are not very notable to begin with and both groups know each other quite well.

Most of the other techniques mentioned earlier appear unsuitable for the promotion of relationships between the Jewish groups due to their focus on limited numbers of participants. As such, they do not address effectively the desire for national impact involving all or at least a major part of the population. The single approach which seems worthy of consideration is that of interaction. As already stated, this approach is generally accepted to be promising when dealing with attitude change and social acceptance. Social psychological research has clearly shown that these goals can effectively be achieved only through cross-ethnic interactions, while other approaches seem to have--at best--only limited effect.

There is, however, a "catch" with regard to the interaction approach: While it may be a necessary prerequisite for promoting intergroup understanding and acceptance, it may not be a sufficient one. Let us elaborate on this point with respect to ethnic interaction in the schools.

Making the acquaintance of people from other ethnic groups is considered an important component when attempting to reduce prejudice and stereotyped views of the other group (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969, 1976; Aronson, 1972; Cook, 1963; Festinger & Kelley, 1951; McConahay, 1978; St. John, 1975). Direct contact between members of different groups provides an opportunity for different social-psychological processes to occur. At its best, it enables one to see that people previously thought of as different in behavior or beliefs can, upon direct contact, indeed seem similar to one's own group. From research findings we know that greater similarity in behavior and beliefs is generally associated with less prejudice (Byrne, 1965; Rokeach, 1968). Thus, members of the higher status group could see that people from the lower status group are less incompetent, less morally objectionable or less unfriendly than they had previously thought. People of lower social status might find themselves less frustrated and disappointed after contact with higher status people, and might see that the latter accept them more readily than they had thought prior to the meeting. Such breaking down of expectations and stereotypes can influence the attitudes and behavior of members of both groups who are partners to a multiethnic encounter. Such changes are possible only under conditions of direct contact between different groups.

There are also additional reasons why well-controlled, but only well-controlled and well-planned contact between children from different ethnic groups in school can have positive effects on interethnic relations. Schools constitute a social setting which legitimizes and sanctions ethnic contact, and as such are representative of the official social norms (Clark, 1953; Pettigrew, 1961). Moreover, the child engages in ethnic relationships under the authority of relevant adult figures. Exposure to this kind of social setting can teach children social patterns, even if the consequences and implications of such patterns are not spelled out explicitly, but are nonetheless implemented in daily experience. If educational institutions are to realize the full benefits of ethnic integration in schools on the level of personal relationships among mixed pupils, thereby bringing about a sense of fuller acceptance of minority-group children into the mainstream of society, they will need to plan optimal conditions. Only then will ethnic contact at the classroom level yield positive results in terms of attitudes and relationships.

One of the basic factors in planning interethnic settings is that mixed-ethnic classrooms should allow equal status to all participants (Kramer, 1950). If, for example, school authorities and teachers treat all pupils equally, create conditions for interethnic cooperation, and design the educational experiences of the pupils in order to provide all children with academic and social status in the classroom rather than having the classroom emphasize differences in achievement and friendship patterns, such conditions would promote positive interethnic relationships and attitudes (Becker, 1952; Cohen & Roper, 1972; Cohen & Sharan, 1980; Gerard & Miller, 1975; Sharan, 1980; St. John & Lewis, 1973). These conditions would also embody the principles of equal educational opportunity and pupils would feel free of discrimination. Consequently, minority-group pupils can experience some enhancement of their ethnic and personal self-esteem, as well as improvement of their attitudes toward themselves and toward children from other ethnic groups in the class. Under these conditions, the higher status children are also more likely to accept

children from the minority group and to alter their view of the latter's incompetence. The result would therefore be a more favorable perception of lower status peers than was previously held (Amir & Garti, 1977; Shaw, 1973). Such positive changes in interethnic relations are likely to occur under conditions of equal status because they emphasize equal competence, similarity in ability and social norms, and enhance attraction and friendship between children in the class regardless of ethnic background. Desegregation under the right conditions presents the opportunity for ethnic integration. However, as already mentioned, it has been demonstrated that although direct contact between different ethnic groups may be a necessary condition for achieving positive changes in ethnic attitudes, it is not sufficient in itself (Amir, 1969, 1976; McConahay, 1978). Ethnic contact alone, without control over various conditions of this contact, may have no effect whatsoever on ethnic relations or, even worse, it may produce more negative attitudes than those which previously prevailed.

Indeed, there are some aspects of status relations in the classroom which are frequently cultivated in schools, which emphasize the inequality of the pupils' status in and out of the classroom--namely, processes of social comparison based on academic achievement or competition for grades, attention, social standing, and so on. These processes can counteract the positive effects of equality of school policy and teacher behavior toward pupils (Aronson, Stephan, Sikes, Blaney, & Snapp, 1978; Katz, 1955; Sharan, 1980; Sherif & Sherif, 1953; Singer, 1972; Slavin, 1977). Thus, it is understandable that this technique or social policy which is generally labeled as school desegregation or integration has aroused much controversy in this country and elsewhere, as to its possible contribution to conflict resolution and reduction of prejudice.

In sum, there seem to be two main hindering factors to achieving positive results for ethnic conflict resolution and attitude change among youth in the schools. These are the unequal status between the groups and the competitive atmosphere in the schools. Schools, in general, and in Israel in particular, emphasize scholastic achievement, primarily on subjects requiring abstract thinking, concept formation, and similar abilities. The problem is that regarding these characteristics the gap between the Western and Middle-Eastern groups is relatively large. Furthermore, achievement materializes through interpersonal competition, whereby each student is expected to do his or her best, or in other words, to do "better than the next guy." Under these conditions one can hardly expect positive results regarding intergroup conflict resolution. Only when changes in teaching strategies, in school orientations and even in specific programs are introduced, the promise of ethnic interaction may be realized.

CONCLUSION

It is not the purpose of this paper to elaborate on the different techniques which have been recently developed to facilitate conflict reduction and interethnic understanding in the schools. The major contributions in this area have been made by American and Israeli scholars. The Israeli experience has been recently summarized by Amir, Sharan, and Ben-Ari (1984). These techniques involve cooperative learning in the classroom, ethnic interdependence in the learning process, special programs

emphasizing the similarity between students as well as between ethnic groups rather than their differences, techniques for changing the ethnic expectations of students and teachers, programs for intercultural learning, and special teacher training for the implementation of these programs. Studies applying these techniques have shown positive changes in ethnic attitudes, better intergroup relations, and reduction in ethnic tension and conflict.

It seems that the know-how of how to achieve these desired goals of intergroup relations for children and youth is available, though it has to be further planned, developed and implemented. But, will we rise to this challenge? Will the schools, the educational establishment and the major policymakers in this field have the courage and strength to encounter difficulties and even sceptical public opinion and facilitate all the preparatory work in order to provide a real chance for the development of better intergroup relations between Jewish and Arab youth, and within Jewish groups of different ethnic heritage? The answer to this question probably depends on whether you are an optimist or a pessimist. Only time will tell whether the education system, through its policymakers and through the schools, will or will not succeed in making a substantial contribution to the reduction of conflict and prejudice between ethnic and national groups in Israel, or by the same token--in any place where intergroup tension and misunderstanding prevail.

REFERENCES

Allport, G. W. (1954). The nature of prejudice. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Amir, Y. (1969). Contact hypothesis in ethnic relations. Psychological Bulletin, 71, 319-342.

Amir, Y. (1976). The role of intergroup contact in change of prejudice and ethnic relations. In P. A. Katz (Ed.), Towards the elimination of racism. New York: Pergamon Press.

Amir, Y., & Garti, C. (1977). Situational and personal influence on attitude change following ethnic contact. International Journal of Intergroup Relations, 1, 58-75.

Amir, Y., Sharan, S., & Ben-Ari, R. (Eds.) (1984). School desegregation: Cross-cultural perspectives. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Amir, Y., Sharan, S., Bizman, A., Ribner, M., & Ben-Ari, R. (1978). Attitude change in desegregated Israel high schools. Journal of Educational Psychology, 70, 63-70.

Aronson, E. (1972). The social animal. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.

Aronson, E., Stephan, C., Sikes, J., Blaney, N., & Snapp, M. (1978). The jigsaw classroom. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Becker, H. (1952). Social class variations in the teacher-pupil relationship. Journal of Educational Sociology, 25, 451-465.

Byrne, D. (1965). Attitudes and attraction. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 4, pp. 35-89). New York: Academic Press.

Chen, M., Lewy, A., & Adler, C. (1978). The junior high school research project: Process and outcome. Unpublished manuscript, Tel-Aviv University. (Hebrew)

Clark, K. (1953). Desegregation: An appraisal of the evidence. Journal of Social Issues, 9(4), 2-76.

Cohen, E., & Roper, S. (1972). Modification of interracial interaction disability. An application of status characteristics theory. American Sociological Review, 37, 643-652.

Cohen, E., & Sharan, S. (1980). Modifying status relations in Israeli youth. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 11, 364-384.

Cook, S. W. (1963). Desegregation: A psychological analysis. In W. W. Charters, Jr. & N. L. Gage (Eds.), Readings in the social psychology of education. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Crain, R. L., & Mahard, R. E. (1978). Desegregation and Black achievement: A review of the research. Law and Contemporary Problems, 42(3), 17-56.

Eisenstadt, S. N. (1973). The Israeli society: Background, development and problems (2nd ed.). Jerusalem: Magnes Press. (Hebrew)

Festinger, L., & Kelley, H. H. (1951). Changing attitudes through social contact. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

Gerard, H., & Miller, N. (1975). School desegregation. New York: Plenum Press.

Gudykunst, W. B., Hammer, M. R., & Wiseman, R. L. (1977). An analysis of an integrated approach to cross-cultural training. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 1, 99-110.

Hadad, M., & Shapira, R. (1977). Commanding resources and social integration. Megamot, 23, 161-173. (Hebrew)

Inbar, M., & Adler, C. (1977). Ethnic integration in Israel: A comparative case study of Moroccan brothers who settled in France and in Israel. New Jersey: Transaction.

Katz, I. (1955). Conflict and harmony in an adolescent interracial group. New York: New York University Press.

Kramer, B. M. (1950). Residential contact as a determinant of attitudes toward Negroes. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard College Library.

McConahay, J. B. (1978). The effects of school desegregation upon students' racial attitudes and behavior: A critical review of the literature and a prolegomenon to future research. Law and Contemporary Problems, 42(3), 77-107.

Peres, Y. (1976). Ethnic relations in Israel. Tel-Aviv: Sifriat Poalim. (Hebrew)

Pettigrew, T. (1961). Social psychology and desegregation research. American Psychologist, 16, 105-112.

Rokeach, M. (1968). The nature of human values. New York: Free Press.

St. John, N. H. (1975). School desegregation outcomes for children. New York: Wiley.

St. John, N. H., & Lewis, R. G. (1973). Children's interracial friendships: An exploration of the contact hypothesis. Unpublished manuscript.

Schwarzwald, J., & Cohen, S. (1982). The relationship between academic tracking and the degree of interethnic acceptance. Journal of Educational Psychology, 74, 588-597.

Sharan, S. (1980). Cooperative learning in small groups. Recent methods and effects on achievement, attitudes, and ethnic relations. Review of Educational Research, 50, 241-271.

Shaw, M. (1973). Changes in sociometric choices following forced integration of an elementary school. Journal of Social Issues, 29, 143-157.

Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. W. (1953). Groups in harmony and tension. New York: Harper.

Singer, D. (1972). The impact of interracial classroom exposure on the social attitudes of fifth-grade children. (Unpublished, 1964). Cited by E. Aronson, The social animal. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.

Slavin, R. (1977). Classroom reward structure. An analytical and practical review. Review of Educational Research, 47, 633-650.

Smooha, S., & Peres, Y. (1974). Ethnic inequality in Israel. Megamot, 20, 5-42. (Hebrew)